

INDIAN DRAWINGS II



SMITHSONIAN  
INSTITUTION

1010

Freer Gallery of Art

Washington, D. C.







# INDIAN DRAWINGS:

SECOND SERIES, CHIEFLY RĀJPUT  
BY ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.







TO R.D.



“There are a thousand proofs that the old masters . . . executed their frescoes from cartoons and their little easel pictures from more or less finished drawings.”

*Ingres.*



## CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION.

WHEN preparing the book on Indian Drawings, issued to members of the India Society in 1910, I remarked that the subject was not at all exhausted, and also that too much allowance had perhaps been made for foreign elements. The majority of drawings reproduced were Mughal, and Mughal and Rājput works were not sharply differentiated. Since then I have had further opportunity of study in India, and many thousands of Indian drawings and pictures, in the course of collecting and studying other collections, have been in my hands. The result has been to show how large is the mass of material still existing in India, and to establish the relative importance of the indigenous schools in Rājputāna and the Panjāb Himālayas.† As I am preparing a separate work on Rājput painting, it is unnecessary to give here a detailed account of its styles and subject matter.\* The term covers the traditional Indian (Hindū) styles of (1) Rājputāna or Rājasthān (especially Jaipur), and (2) the Panjāb Himālayas (Jammu, Chambā, Pūnch, Gahrwāl, etc., but especially Kāngrā). These two groups represent distinct phases of one style. The majority of existing works are of seventeenth, eighteenth and even early nineteenth century date. The style, whether in Rājasthān or in the Himālayas, is as unlike contemporary Persian as well could be. It is rather less unlike Indian Mughal work, because, just as Hindū architecture is the basis of Mughal, so Rājput painting is a large factor in Mughal painting; but even here the difference of temper is profound, and the differences of style are only a little less conspicuous. It is difficult to understand how the Rājput painters can have been so long overlooked; perhaps one of the chief reasons has been the absence of any adequate examples in European collections. This deficiency, at any rate, compels me to rely almost exclusively upon my own collection\* in choosing drawings for reproduction in the present volume, which, chiefly Rājput in its contents, is intended as complementary as well as supplementary to the first series.

Indian drawings now sometimes appear for sale in India; the reason for this is that the descendants of hereditary artists, now no longer receiving state or private

† It may be objected that Rājput paintings are Hindū, and the latter term preferred. But not all Hindū painting is Rājput. The term Rājput excludes from consideration the Karnatic, Sinhalese, Orissan or other schools, without in any way implying that all these dialects of Indian painting may not equally derive from the old national school of mural art.

\* For a fuller summary, with reproductions of pictures, see the *Burlington Magazine*, March, 1912.

\* All illustrations in the present volume are from drawings or stencils in my own collection, unless otherwise stated, i.e., with exception of Plate XXI.



*Rajput Drawings.* patronage, have been driven to adopt other means of livelihood, and have parted, though unwillingly, with their collections of old sketches. Thus, all those illustrated from Jaipur in the present volume were obtained together, and probably represent the working-collections of only one or two families. Another interesting group of drawings, with a number of finished pictures† was obtained from a descendant of Mola Rām (b. 1760 A.D. d. 1833 A.D.) of Gahrwāl, whose ancestors, originally of Rājputāna, had worked at Delhi. These drawings included a good number of typical Mughal works, chiefly portraits (of which Pl. XX, 2, is an example) and a larger number of typical Pahārī drawings and pictures of Shaivite and lyrical subjects (*nāyikās*, etc.) The elephant (Pl. XXIV) from this collection should perhaps be classed rather as Mughal than Rājput, as it belongs to the class of portraits of tame animals, and the drawing is carefully shaded. The remaining Pahārī drawings in my collection, and here reproduced, form another group (including *INDIAN DRAWINGS*, First Series, Pls. XII, XIII, XXVI and here Pls. VI-XVII) obtained at various times from two or three sources in Amritsar and Lahore. The two Mughal drawings reproduced on Pls. XXV, XXVI were obtained in Āgra.

The following summary of the methods employed by Rājput draughtsmen is based upon the study of a large number of examples, in every stage of completeness and incompleteness. It is most desirable that it should be supplemented by observation of artists still working on traditional lines, and by chemical examinations of pigments and media.

*Methods.* With rare exceptions of Jaipur drawings apparently in charcoal (*e.g.* Plate III), the whole work is done with a brush. Pencils and india-rubber were alike unknown. The quotation next to the first page of the present work summarises the methods of work. The making of new pictures, including portraits, and the copying of old ones went on side by side. In the case of a new work the artist make a first sketch, usually in red, but more often sepia or black in the case of Jaipur portraits.\* He then covered this with washes of white, not so thick as to completely obscure the underlying outlines. Over this he drew a more finished outline, exactly following the original in some parts, and very freely altering and correcting other parts. Mistakes in either stage are easily corrected with washes of white, upon which fresh outlines can be traced. The majority of Pahārī drawings (for example those of the

† One of these is reproduced in the *Burlington Magazine*, March, 1912.

\* In a few examples, both large and small, from Jaipur, a charcoal pencil seems to have been used for the first sketch.

† I have seen only one finished (Pahārī) picture in which the colour is applied directly to the paper, omitting the stage of white priming and second outline. This is, I think, a more provincial, or as we should say now colloquially, more 'jungly' style, and in such works gold is altogether omitted.



Nala-Damayantī series, Pls. VI-X, also Pls. XI-XVII) are in this state. Here of *Methods*. course, the original surface of the paper is quite hidden.† In other cases we have only the first outline, or in the case of copies, the first outline over the pouncing, upon the original, and often very rough, surface of the paper (for example, most of the Rājput portraits, Pls. XVIII-XX).

The next process after the careful second outline is finished, is to colour and finish the background, sky, trees, grass, etc., leaving the figures of men, animals, etc. as they are; in doing this the outlines of the figures are generally partly obscured by washes of colour overlapping from the background (as well shown on Pl. XV), for the artist is never afraid that he may not redraw as well as before. The figures are next coloured, and finally delicately outlined for the last time.

Another method, after the first sketch has been made, is to make a tracing on thin paper, then to paste this down on several layers of thicker paper, making a cardboard, and proceed as before: or, if the original sketch is not important, the outlines to be preserved are carefully pricked with a very fine needle, and the picture transferred by pouncing dust of charcoal through the holes. The latter method is used both for small and large work, but especially in the case of the large Jaipur cartoons. Artists appear generally to have retained their original sketches, or at least copies or notes of their finished works. The copies are often, perhaps usually, tracings on thin paper or on gold-beaters skin. Such tracings are often pricked for pouncing, and become the source of innumerable other copies, made by or for pupils and handed down in pupillary succession. Sometimes of course, the artist was asked to repeat the work already done for another patron. In cases where several copies were thus required, the most general method was that of pouncing. The pounced outlines were gone over in red, then covered with white and redrawn in sepia as first described. The second outline so done is very free, often materially modifying the original, so that literal copies are hardly ever found, and it is not always possible to distinguish between a copy and an original drawing. Copies may be better or worse than originals; on the whole they degenerate, the further they are removed from the original.

The paper on which Indian drawings and pictures are executed is of very diverse *Paper*. qualities, from very rough and coarse to the thinnest and finest. Good papers are still made in Kāshmīr, Jaipur, and elsewhere. The industry was probably introduced into India not earlier than the tenth century A.D. Gold beaters' skin is also manufactured locally,† sometimes in very large sheets, on which Mughal architectural drawings are preserved. It is fairly commonly used for small Jaipur tracings, but never in the mountains.

† *Preparation described by Baden-Powell, Manufactures and Arts of the Panjāb*, II, 173.



*Colour Names.* Very often, the names of the colours to be used are jotted down on the sketches and tracings preserved by artists. From a number of such annotated Pahārī drawings I have transcribed the following :

*Suped, suped, supedā* (white); *sauj, soj, sojā, savaj, saj, sej, sejā* (green); *nīl, nīlā* (blue); *āsmānī, asemenī* (sky-blue); *lajvard* (ultramarine); *sosanī* (iris, lilac); *gulābī* (rose); *kīrm, sindhūr, sadhūrī, sangarpha, surakhī, lalā, lal, surakhi* (reds); *narājī, naranjī* (orange); *bādamī, badāmī* (almond); *khākī, khakī* (drab); *vasantī, vasetī*, (yellow); *udā* (brown); *sunā* (gold); *chādī* (moonlight, silver); *rupā* (silver); *chhīrkuyā* (spotted white): also *silu, soj silu; cheharā, chihārā, cherā; jarājī; harjī; chehara ojī mela; keherenā; valachhī chhīrkū'ā; kīrmādī saurī; horasābha suna; etc.* With many of these the word *halkā* or *hālkā* can be combined, meaning pale, light, as *soj halkā*, light green. Various spellings often occur together on one drawing. Sometimes elaborate instructions are given for ornamental details such as brocade cushions, borders, etc.; thus, for a cushion *sunā pate soj* (gold with green leaves), another cushion *butā vasantī dīlā surakh* (yellow flower-sprays, red ?), for a border *sunedā butā surakhīyā yādīla bandī sandhuredī* (gold with red flower-sprays ?, and scarlet lines), for a purdah *chādī jīmī bandīma surakhīyā kane likhedā phul sandhurī hālkā indī savaj pate savaj* (silver ground, red framing-lines, with flowers drawn in light red, green stalks, green leaves). These instructions are not rare in Pahārī drawings, but I have never seen them on sketches from Jaipur. In Mughal works they are rare; I have noted the following and others on one in my collection: *gulābī, sunā, sufed, bādām*. These are written in Persian characters, while all those on Pahārī drawings are in Nāgarī. In some Mughal drawings the colours are indicated by slight brush-touches of the actual colour required.

These colour lists are perhaps a digression, and are not complete and exhaustive; they may, however, be useful to other investigators. We need to know everything possible about these Rājput schools especially, inasmuch as old and valuable technical knowledge clearly survives in them. This applies still more to the methods of execution than to the mere names of the colours. I cannot too strongly express the desirability of a full research into these methods before it becomes altogether too late.

*Inscriptions.* Not only do we find the names of colours sometimes recorded in Nāgarī characters, on the Pahārī sketches and tracings, and the names of persons represented in Jaipur portraits, but we also meet with, on Pahārī drawings and finished pictures, inscriptions of Sanskrit or vernacular verses, which in themselves amount to a miniature literature. Rājput drawings and pictures with Sanskrit inscriptions are comparatively rare; much commoner are those—usually pictures of Krishna and illustrations of other lyrical motifs,—with Hindī or Dogrī inscriptions, often badly written, full of old and dialectic forms, and difficult to read and understand.



The spirit of these quotations is that of the pictures themselves. Such written explanations are almost superfluous, yet it will be often found that without them we should miss part of the idea which finds expression in the picture. For instance, the following goes with a sketch of a girl on a terrace, fondling a deer that has run up to her :

*Ko chhutyo ihi jāl parkīt kurang akulā'e |*  
*Ĵinhī tun sūrjh bhajyo chahe tyon urjat jā'e ||*

“O bewildered deer ! who has escaped the trap of this world ?

The more you would run warily, the more you are entangled.”

The deer, which is perhaps hunted and seeks protection, is compared to the soul entangled in māyā.

The drawing by itself is tender and attractive ; but reading the text, we find in the picture a more poignant significance, just as in life we sometimes suddenly perceive a deeper intention in events which at first merely interested or pleased or displeased us. The verse I have quoted is typical of the spirit of Vaishnava poetry, as it finds expression in words or painting.

More often the Hindī or Dogrī inscriptions describe the love of Rādhā and Krishna, the sufferings of separated lovers, the delights of spring, or the conditions of the different *nāyikās* or ideal heroines of romance. Whole series of pictures are really illustrations of the Gīta Govinda or Bhāgavata Purāna. Perhaps, in some of the Krishna pictures, the religious symbolism is not always the only or first consideration. Pictures like those represented on Plates XIII, XIV, seem to tell of the mere joy of life and youth, almost without *arrière pensée*. Yet I believe that no one ever really forgot their significance. The sound of Krishna's flute is always the voice of the Infinite calling the human soul—a disturbing element, disorganizing life, yet of irresistible sweetness. The herd-maidens whom He calls are likened to frightened fishes in the net ; ‘they return not home,’ that is, they leave the world to follow Him.† They join with him in a dance where each one finds Him by her side ; they search for His footsteps in the sand ; they refuse to be comforted when He cannot be found. So closely interwoven as to be inseparable are the strands of human life and the love of God : closely interwoven and mutually conflicting. Unless we understand life so, these pictures and these songs can never mean to us all that they meant to those who made them and those for whom they were sung.

† The description of a picture in my collection, similar to that here reproduced on Plate XIV, runs as follows :

“As the fish swims to and fro in the net when it sees any shadow, as partly from greed it touches everything, partly from fear at something threatening it dashes about : so is it the fashion nowadays for those girls that go down to Ĵamna, that none returns home—

Choosing their clothes, drawing water, again to the bank they go, leaving behind the water pots !”



*Folk Motifs.* No one can fail to observe the strong folk-element in Rājput, especially Pahārī, drawings. This element distinguishes them as clearly as possible from Mughal. It appears in two ways : in naiveté of expression, and in the fact that hardly any works can be regarded as the original creations of single artists. Like folk-songs and ballads, they are full of refrains, motifs that continually recur, and would be hard to trace to any individual, however many names of artists we might know. In a sufficiently large collection of drawings there may be observed, as in a group of ballads, the various versions of a single motif—in the one hand, such elements as must have contributed to the best recensions, on the other, echoes and imitations suggested by them.\* These motifs are ancient and deeply rooted in the popular life ; they are on the one hand a link that takes us back to an older than mediæval



Fig. 1. Śrī Krishna Dudhādārī :  
Pahārī drawing.

\*Sometimes, by means of tracing or pouncing, single figures or groups are separated and introduced into other compositions or made the basis of new ones. Such motifs may even be used by Musulmān painters, as in the 'Shiva Puja' by Muhammad Fakīrullah Khān (Johnson Colln., India Office, Vol. xvii, fol. 3, reproduced by Vincent Smith, 'History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon' PL. CXXVIII), where the figure of the girl-worshipper is one that constantly recurs in Rājput pictures (e.g. one in the collection of Mr. N. Blount, Calcutta, one in my own collection, a drawing in the Tagore collection, etc.) Such a picture as that by Muhammad Fakīrullah Khān is Rājput in almost all essentials.



India, and on the other leads us to the flowery glades and pastoral festivals of the *Folk Motifs*. Himālayan valleys of to-day.

The folk element is naturally most conspicuous in the Pahārī drawings, some of which have often a distinctly uncultivated and provincial quality ; the work of the larger cities in Rājputāna is more cultivated and more conscious, less homely, more civic and less pastoral. But this is not a hard and fast distinction, and in any case it would not be easy to assert a preference for either type of work, so exquisite is each in its own way. In the hill drawings the influence of the folk appears directly in the constant emphasis laid on pastoral life, not merely in set pictures of Krishna as the Divine Cowherd, but in more naive sketches which reflect the everyday life and environment of peasants. Figure 1, inscribed "Śrī Krishna, Milkman," affords a good example of this.

Another drawing represents a girl looking up at a crow perched on a roof. The sense of the accompanying Hindī verse is this "If my wish comes to pass, then with gold and silver shall your beak be filled, with sweets you shall be fed ; dear is my master, while I live, O Tola Rām, if he meets me, I shall not delay to meet him ; if you have seen my Lord coming home to-day, then fly away crow !" Here, I think, we have to do with a popular charm or method of divination.



## CHAPTER II. PAPER STENCILS.

I do not propose here to refer in detail to the close relationship of design and subject matter of Rājput painting to contemporary and co-regional work in sculpture, embroidery and other arts, although this relationship could be adduced, were it necessary, as additional proof of the endemic character of the painting and drawing. There is, however, one minor art, so closely connected with drawing, and so similar in spirit to much of the drawing already described, that it deserves more than a passing mention. This is the art of preparing temporary coloured pictures, upon a flat horizontal surface, by means of paper stencils and coloured powders. I shall first describe the manner of doing this, and then briefly discuss the significance of the art.



Fig. 2. Cheetah and Deer :  
Paper stencil from Mathurā, *reduced*.

Interest, from the present standpoint, centres upon the paper stencils. These consist of pieces of paper on which a design has been drawn, and afterwards cut out. In many cases the design is to appear in two or more colours, and a corresponding number of stencils is required, an accurate register being secured by means of notches at the side of the paper. The subjects are very various: many are religious, representing Krishna and Gopīs, or other episodes in Krishna's life, others portray wild animals, buildings, or trees, and many consist of border and *semé*-designs of a purely decorative character. The coloured pictures are usually prepared upon the ground; sometimes upon the surface of water. Mathurā, Jaipur, and Delhi are places where the art flourishes,—or used to flourish, for it is more and more neglected. The pictures, with other exhibitions of dolls, toys, etc., etc., are prepared a few days before Durgā Puja, and last for two or three days; they are inspected every



evening by eager and critical crowds who go about from house to house, where- *Paper Stencils.*  
ever a good show is reported to be found.

The natural limitations of the technique produce a type of design with great restraint and vitality; every cut must be expressive, and there must be nothing meaningless. It will be seen from the examples here reproduced on a reduced scale,



Fig. 3. Frisky cows:  
Paper stencil from Mathurā, *reduced*.

how this art of stencil cutting is really a branch of Rājput draughtsmanship. It excels in the representation of movement, and in animal drawing (Fig. 2). There is in this art the same toy and folk element which often appears in the Rājput pictures; here, for example, in the delightful Noah's Ark trees (Figs. 5-8), and the frisky cows (Fig. 3).

The various other specimens of the stencils given here, explain themselves: the two figures of a young man and woman are from a series representing a spring



*Paper Stencils.* festival (Holī) of Krishna, Rādhā and other gopās and gopīs. All those illustrated are from Mathurā.

Especially good shows are to be seen in temples, where the officiating priests still have good collections of dolls, and patronise the skilful 'Pavement artist.' These artists, however, who take a great pride in their hereditary professional skill, are now less and less encouraged by the well-to-do families who used to be their patrons, and the art is consequently dying out—to form one more item in the list of wasted technical abilities and forgotten popular arts of Indian life. It would never occur to educationists in India, whether 'National' or 'Imperial', to preserve or develop an art such as this, or to make of it an element in kinder-garten teaching !

Even more than the drawings, these stencils show how fine an art of woodcut illustration for printed books might, under happier circumstances, have been developed from Indian Schools ; perhaps even as it is, some day an Indian artist will print a Mahābhārata with wood-cut illustrations not less noble than those of the Kelmscott Chaucer. The language for such utterance is abundantly available, if the spirit demanding expression should appear.



Fig. 4. Cow and Calf.  
Paper stencil from Mathurā, *reduced*.





Figures 5-8. Four Trees:  
Paper stencils from Mathurā, *reduced*.





Figure 9. Holī Festival,  
(Boy in Festal Dress)  
Paper stencil from Mathurā, *reduced*.





Figure 10. Holi Festival,  
(Girl in Festal Dress, with squirt)  
Paper stencil from Mathurā, *reduced*.





Fig. 11. Cow, with anklets, bell and plume :  
Paper stencil from Mathurā, *reduced*.



### CHAPTER III. DESCRIPTION OF THE DRAWINGS.

#### 1. JAIPUR CARTOONS.

I now proceed to a description of the drawings here reproduced photographically on Plates following these notes ; beginning with the Rājput series.

Perhaps the most important of these are the large cartoons\* or tracings reproduced on Plates I, II. These represent a type of work hitherto very little known, though illustrated also by the 'Head of a Girl,' given in *INDIAN DRAWINGS*, first series, Plate XV. I did not know when that book was issued that this was a typical Rājput work, from Jaipur, but indicated this in a subsequent *erratum slip*, issued in 1911, after I had seen the large panels in the library of the Mahārāja of Jaipur, and had obtained the old cartoons here reproduced. The two panels referred to, I could not examine very closely, nor was it possible to obtain photographs of them, as I hope to do at some later time. These two panels together form one composition, consisting of figures of Rādhā and Krishna, dancing together, with a chorus of musicians to right and left. The double Plate II is arranged in the same way; it is made up from four cartoons procured in Jaipur in 1911. Of these, the figures of Rādhā and Krishna are reproduced directly from the originals; and the two groups of musicians from brush drawings made by myself from the pricked cartoons, which in this case were too blackened for reproduction. It should also be noted that in the original of the Krishna, the legs below the knee were missing, and these have been admirably restored by Miss D. M. Larcher. I think the composition so arranged is identical with that of the Mahārāja of Jaipur's pictures; possibly, however, the groups of musicians are different, in which case the portions of similar groups reproduced here on Plate I, and in the *Burlington Magazine* (March, 1912) are those which correspond to the pictures. Possibly also, the right hand chorus group is incomplete.

The group detail on Plate I represents one girl singing, while another plays a sort of *sārangi*. The musicians in the larger groups (Plate II) are singing and playing. The instruments represented are *sitar*, 'jew's harp' (*morchanga*), drums (*tabla*), and 'bones,' the two last no doubt strongly emphasizing the tāla to assist the dancers.

These are noble works. Form and mass are rendered by an outline that is at once expressive and severe, impassioned and strangely serene. It will be observed that the chorus groups which I have redrawn in pure outline are rather hard by con-

\*I call these works cartoons for convenience; they are pricked for pouncing, and sometimes very dirty from repeated use. It is not always possible (and not very necessary, when the workmanship is excellent, probably the designer's own), to distinguish an original outline pricked and blackened, from a copy in the same condition.



*Jaipur Cartoons.*

trast with the central figures. In these originals there is very delicate shading almost all over the face, and everywhere along the edges of the flesh, especially the feet and hands, which gives a certain tenderness and graciousness to the whole work, without suggesting relief or transgressing its severe convention.

*Plate III.*

The charcoal drawing of Plate III is the upper part of a cartoon representing Rādhā and Krishna standing under a kadamba tree, holding its branches, gazing spell-bound into each others eyes. In my collection there are also parts of similarly executed cartoons representing Rādhā and Krishna holding hands and swinging round and round, Krishna playing the flute, and others.

*Plates IV, V.*

The much-worn but beautiful drawing reproduced on Plate IV represents a woman wringing the water from her hair after bathing. Plate V reproduces the somewhat idealised and partly coloured portrait of a young Rājput prince carrying a bow and arrow in the left hand, and a pink lotus in the right.

These large cartoons represent a most important phase of Indian art, hitherto unknown; they show that as late as the eighteenth century and perhaps later still there survived in India a great school of design actually working on a large scale. More, this severe and exquisite hieratic art reveals to us a type of pure aristocratic beauty which in all essentials is that traditionally glorified in Indian literature, and in its special character is a transfiguration of the Rājput ethnic type. In saying this I not mean to imply any departure from reality, though it is a reality which few are now able to perceive. But those whom any noble art has trained to see the world with transfiguring eyes, will find more and more every day that they accept the vision of the Rājput painters, that the world is not less beautiful or wonderful or mysterious than they have represented it.

If they are not as great as the Ajantā paintings, at least these works are worthy of their great ancestry. How vital and how unified with enduring national ideals must have been a tradition which could preserve so much nobility across an interval of a thousand years! For this art is still essentially classic; it depends for its utterance on fundamental forms, upon significant relations of space and mass, upon whatever in life is universal, and it makes no study of transient expressions and individual peculiarities. In these works, Hindu artists, like Memling, "dwell upon everything which is most delicate and lovely in human forms, above all creating a type of woman exquisite and elect, unknown before and lost with them."



## II. PAHĀRĪ DRAWINGS.

Such are the most characteristic works from Rājasthān. The Pahārī drawings *Nala-Damayantī* are almost invariably smaller. A distinction of style as well as of scale is clearly marked ; the Himālayan art is not less exquisite, but becomes less aloof, less classic, more popular and romantic. Next or equal in importance to the large cartoons from Jaipur is the splendid series of illustrations to the story of Nala and Damayantī. I do not know how many of these originally existed ; I possess forty-eight and a few fragments, of which number fifty-one is the Swayamvara, (*INDIAN DRAWINGS*, first series, Pl. XXVI), and the last number is 112. There are two or three of the series in the School of Art collection, Calcutta. None of the drawings have any descriptive text. The story illustrated is evidently not the Sanskrit version in the Mahābhārata, as the pictures after the marriage do not represent subsequent events, such as the gambling scenes, adventures in the forest, etc., but merely describe the home life of the young lovers. This description of the intimate daily life of a hill-Rājput court a century or two ago is very interesting and attractive.

The set of drawings includes a few duplicates, and three or four partly coloured ; the colouring is, however, inferior to the drawing, and we may be glad that the majority of the drawings remain as they are. It is unfortunate that many of them are more or less damaged by white ants, which pests are doubtless responsible also for the missing numbers.

These drawings are in a characteristic Pahārī style, and must have been made in Kāngrā ; they probably date from the latter part of the eighteenth, or from the early part of the nineteenth century. With them are to be associated a number of closely related works, such as those reproduced here on Pls. XI—XVII.

These drawings contrast with the deliberate Jaipur cartoons by their character of improvisation and in respect of the simpler, more impulsive life they represent. Yet in other respects they are nearly related, as the enlargement of one (Pl. XI) clearly shows. This enlargement better than the smaller reproductions reveals the freedom and bravura of the separate brush strokes. One is, indeed, astonished to find how well these small drawings bear enlargement to a very much greater degree than this. When thrown upon a large lantern screen, for example, their great qualities are made only the more evident, while their 'reduced fresco' style is demonstrated and their relationship to the old line drawing of the Ajantā wall paintings is clearly brought out.

*Plate XI.*

Many things are noteworthy in these drawings. The human figure is drawn with astonishing facility in every possible seated or standing pose, indicating immense practice and well stored memory on the part of the artists. The figures are alert and eager ; whole groups are animated by a single sentiment. Occasionally two or more episodes are represented in a single drawing, but more often the whole com-



*Pahārī Drawings.* position deals only with a single situation. The quality of the brush outline is most alluring. It is swift and effortless. In many places it attains a singular simplicity ; there is a fondness for forms bounded by almost geometrical curves, which again pass into nearly straight lines. In this restraint, the kinship with the more deliberate Jaipur drawings appears; and we observe a contrast with the more sketchy Mughal works, which, especially where European influence enters, aim at greater roundness and modelling.\* It is indeed remarkable how apparently simple an outline, carried round a whole figure, without raising the brush, avails to suggest the living form beneath the drapery (e.g. Pl. IX, r.h. figure of upper drawing); how often it happens that a far more detailed statement carries less conviction !

*Plate IX.*

Just as the continuity of the Rājput outline distinguishes it from many typical Mughal works, so its unvarying width equally distinguishes it from that of the Bokhara or Central Asian schools, in which Chinese influence predominates, and from most of the Persian art deriving there-from. The Rājput work is not, in the Chinese sense, calligraphic ; in quality of line it far more nearly approaches the sweeping brush-work of Ajantā. Indeed, Indian painting, whether Buddhist or Rājput, was not, as Chinese and Persian were, associated with the practice of calligraphy ; Sanskrit books, magnificent in their severe simplicity, were written by men who used a reed pen, and not a brush, and having socially little or no connection with the painters.

The architectural settings of these drawings are strangely attractive, recalling, in Western work, such compositions as those of Giotto.

Perhaps the most remarkable quality of the Pahārī, especially Kāngrā draughtsmen, is their power of rendering movement. This is especially well seen in the group of weeping relatives, on Plate VI, the cavalry procession of Plate VII, and the group of eager and excited girls on Plate XII. This movement, whether sad or passionate, has always a peculiar nobility, a sense of spaciousness and exquisite cultivation that are most impressive.

*Plates II, XIX.*

Drapery in all the Rājput drawings is treated with instinctive knowledge and confidence. In Rājasthānī work, as we have seen, the lines are very deliberate, and their disposition carefully ordered in patterns (Pls. II, XIX) ; and in the Pahārī work the drapery is more fluid and more agitated, and seems to cling more closely to the figure. It is everywhere beautiful. What advantage the Indian painters always had in the glorious life of which they were a part ! granted a certain traditional language, and their spirit of wonder and enthusiasm, they could not fail to give beautiful expression to almost any subject matter. Even now, one may take photographs

\* *For an example of the unpleasant results of this striving for relief, see Bodleian MS. Elliott 254, f. 42a, and others in the same volume. Contrast with this the exquisite refinement of the purely Mughal British Museum MS. Oriental 1362, f. 150a !*



almost anywhere in India where the past survives (as on the Ghāts at Benares), photographs that are nothing more than excerpts from life, and marvel at the beauty which they reflect. Beauty of such a sort, sensitive, reserved, rhythmic, is proof irrefutable of the greatness of any civilization that could produce it; the Rājput draughtsmen, in their works, show how well they were able to understand and enhance both its sensuous charm and spiritual significance.

Some of the best drawings represent groups and colloquies of yogīs and forest dwellers (Pls. X, 2, and XV) groups and scenes that have been significant elements of Indian life since the time of the earliest Upanishads. Just such figures were those who laid the foundations of Vedānta, and just such figures may be seen to-day. As we should expect from the predominance of Vaishnava cults in Northern India, *Shiva*. Shaivite subjects are less common than drawings of Krishna. We still, however, meet with a good number. Characteristic works represent Shiva and Pārvatī resting, alone, or with Ganesh and Kārttikeya, and always with the bull Nandi who carries the wood of the yogī's fire, and is the petted friend of both. In these pictures, the background is Himālayan, sometimes snowy, sometimes grassed and wooded, often Bhagīrathī worships below, and always the Ganges falls from Shiva's head. Again, we find Pārvati and Shiva seated in the burning ground; in a drawing in my collection she is stringing for Shiva a garland of heads.\* What dramatic significance is given to the girlish figure when we reflect that these heads are those of the temporary Brahmās of as many kalpas!—for the eternal life of this seeming-beggar and his wife is no endlessly enduring time, but timeless.

Other works illustrate the Dance of Shiva. But perhaps the majority deal with *Devī*. the conflicts of Devī (Pārvatī) with the Asurās, especially the slaying of the demon Mahīshāsura (Pls. XVI, XVII). In these pictures Devī commonly appears both in rajasic and tamasic forms, in the former many-armed and many-weaponed, riding upon a lion who also shares the fighting, in the latter presenting the terrific aspect of Kālī. The male gods are inactive spectators of these battles. The figure of Kālī is often powerfully rendered, with terrible bony vitality (Pls. XVI, XVII). The Indian imagination, indeed, pictures most dramatically the conflict of forces of good and evil. Observe, that the forces of evil may be, like the daughters of Māra, of enchanting beauty; and the forces of good are not always pleasant to behold. Lafcadio Hearn says somewhere that for all her utter sweetness, there exist in the

*\* A coloured version of this subject, in the Indian Section, Victoria and Albert Museum, has a Sanskrit inscription, the meaning of which is this; "Every day dost Thou sport in the burning ground, with evil sprites as Thy companions; Thou art besmeared with ashes, and Thy garland is a necklace of the skulls of men, Thy every action should be reckoned inauspicious!"*

*"O Thou, bestower of boons on those whose thought is fixed on Thee, greatly auspicious art Thou!"*



Oriental woman possibilities of fury not to be imagined; and indeed, in all of us there exists both a sweet and rough nature, since everywhere there are the pairs of opposites. It could not be otherwise with the gods. Their personalities are manifold. And so, in the Shaivite pictures we have to bear in mind the She is one and the same, who with all the shy and absolute devotion of a Hindu wife gives to Mahādev her loving service in the forests or the burning ground, and again, as an avenging demoness laps up the hosts of devils with her fiery tongue, or brings destruction on whole worlds. A proper consideration of these matters would brightly illumine the minds of those who (forgetting the teaching of Christ, that those are greatest who serve), fancy the Hindu woman as an oppressed and ignorant slave. On the contrary, it is to her hands that all revolutions are entrusted, to be fostered or averted.



### III. RĀJPUT PORTRAITS.

Portraiture is a far less characteristic phase of Rājput art than is the case with Mughal, where, indeed, it is the most obvious feature. Nevertheless there are more Rājput portraits than might be expected. From the hills, indeed, there are comparatively few; I can illustrate only one really good example (Plate XX, No. 4).<sup>\*</sup> But in Jaipur, portraiture on a large and small scale is abundant; the features of all the principal Rājput rulers and their councillors and retainers are to be found recorded. A large number of these works may fairly be described as formal and uninteresting; but amongst them are some of great excellence, and these, though they show less profound interest in individual character, are as works of art more interesting than similar Mughal works, judged from the standpoint of design. The figures are more monumental and typical. The outline is of almost hieratic severity: the many folds of the white muslin garments are disposed in delightful patterns. A collection of these portraits, too, is a storehouse of information on matters of costume and jewellery. Especially striking are the large stiff accordion-pleated skirts of the men in court dress, and the great variety of turbans, from the plainest, to the enormous erections affected by some of the rulers of Jodhpur. The portraits, however, are not only of kings and courtiers; there are sketches also of priests, of traders, musicians, athletes, and women, and occasionally of Englishmen. Some of these possess an actuality of characterization as great as that of any Mughal Sketches: but they are still distinguishable by their greater simplicity of outline, and abstention from the representation of modelling; of these more personal portraits, No. 3 on Plate XX may serve as examples. It represents a schoolmaster or a clerk, and is curiously modern in its point of view. I have five or six others of this sort, equally clever. No. 1 on the same Plate belongs to the more studied portraiture of higher officials. The lower drawing on Plate XIX is again a sketch, while the upper illustrates very well the most formal style of good workmanship. Plate XX. Plate XIX.

The portraits of women, of which, as in Mughal art, there are but few, are very charming; the little drawing of a woman at her toilet (Plate XVIII, 1) is delightful in its suggestion of her shy and simple nature, while the woman with a fan is bolder and more self-conscious. These studies may be compared and contrasted with the more ideal and impersonal types of the chorus groups on Plates I, II. Plate XVIII.

In perhaps a majority of cases the head only or the head and hands only are highly finished, the hair often with extreme delicacy, while the rest of the body is only sketched in. The hands, in the smaller works, are drawn more stiffly, and the poses are generally less expressive than in Pahārī works. The physical type also is

<sup>\*</sup>In the Lahore Museum there is a very charming Kāngrā drawing of a group of Goldsmiths, which is reproduced in Vincent Smith's 'History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon', Figure 222.



somewhat more solid and less graceful, though the features are more aristocratic, as if the expression of a tradition of life more firmly and longer established.

Amongst the works which are practically portraits, though more accurately, wonderful characterisations of *types*, are those drawings of Yogīs (Plate XV eh.) already referred to.

A good many of the most modern works are tracings on skin evidently from photographs. In these the line work is still vigorous and sensitive, and the drawings are an obvious improvement upon the photographs, but these works in all other respects herald the final extinction of the Rājput art.

*Caricature.* Caricature is an unusual phase of Indian drawing, though it is not altogether surprising that we should occasionally find it in Mughal work (Mullah do Piyāza's portrait, *INDIAN DRAWINGS*, first series, Plate I.) The spirit of Rājput art seem to be too serious to admit of deliberate humour; moreover, in many of the mythical subjects there are always provided opportunities for the expression of grotesque imagination (Figure 12).† One occasionally finds, however, amongst Pahārī drawings, examples of true secular caricature, especially in drawings of chorus-groups in dancing scenes. The illustration on

*Plate XXI.* Plate XXI affords an example of more deliberate satire. In this drawing the most revered and saintly poets of Northern India are held up to bitter and relentless ridicule. For this reason I had almost refrained from publishing it; but second thoughts prevailed, for though the names are those of great men, it is not they who are caricatured, but only the excesses of false asceticism, under their names; and these excesses and insincerities have

abounded as much in India as in any other countries where the honour accorded to holy men opens the door also to imposture and morbid developments.

In the present work there is revealed a perfectly astonishing capacity for brutal satire; it presents extraordinary pictures of vacuous self-satisfaction, smug cunning, bombast, and attenuated pessimism. I do not know exactly where such drawings as this were made, but the Nāgarī script appears to indicate some part of Rājasthān. We can, perhaps recognize Central Asian influence on a Rājput tradition; for, not like the refined art of the Mughal courts in India, it is still by



Figure 12. Rākshasa†  
From a Pahārī drawing,  
Size of the original.

† This close likeness of the Rākshases in Indian pictures, to those of Dürer (*Knight, Death and the Devil*) and Botticelli (*Drawings for Dante's Inferno*) is very noticeable.

I suspect that the devil of mediæval Europe, with his horns and cloven feet, had an Oriental ancestry.



no means Hindu in spirit, and recalls the brutal drawings sometimes met with in older Bokhara works (such as Ms. Ouseley 172, f. 4 in the Bodleian) and in later drawings of the same type (such as are represented by one or two examples in my collection). Other evidences of such Northern and Mongolian influence on Rājput drawing are comparatively few, though occasionally recognizable clearly in designs of flowers, and perhaps of sword-handles.



#### IV. ANIMALS.

In the first series of *INDIAN DRAWINGS* I have already given examples of animal studies, fairly comprehensive in character. Of those, the cows, (Pl. XXIV) are of course Rājput; and I should also describe as Rājput, the lion and rhinoceros of Pl. XXI, and the Running Deer of Pl. XXII, perhaps also the Buffaloes of Pl. XX. All these at any rate are very different in feeling from any Persian works. The portrait of a Partridge is more in the Mughal style. The Leopard and Deer, Fig. 15. in that volume is Rājput. I am able to give here (Figures 13—16) a series of four similar drawings from Jaipur; they should be compared with the many small

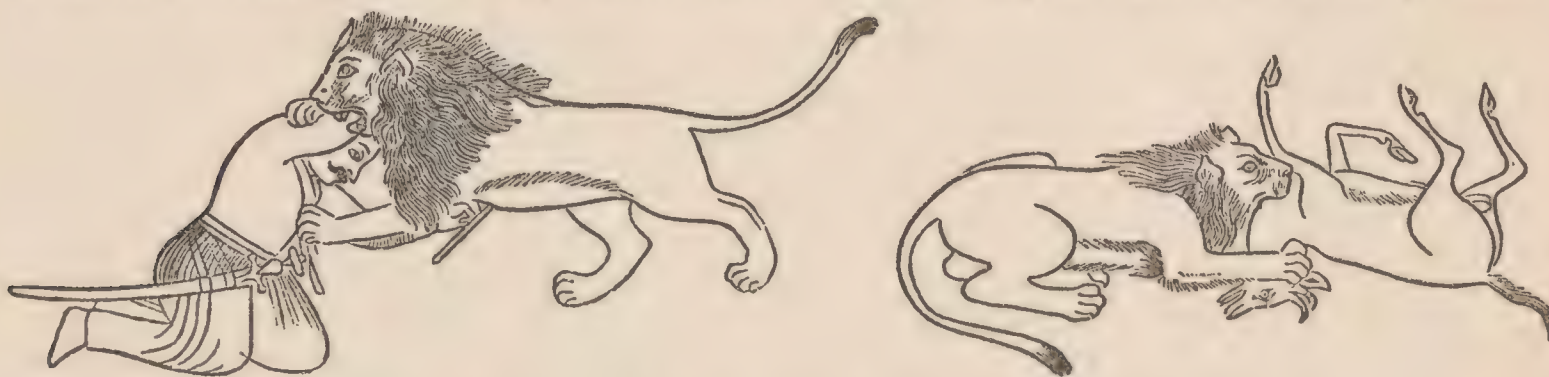


Figure 13, 14. Lions attacking Man and Deer.  
From sketches on skin, Jaipur. Size of originals.



Figures 15, 16. Lynx and Deer.  
From sketches on skin, Jaipur. Size of originals.

enamels of animal-combats that are so exquisitely designed by the Jaipur enamelers, and the embroideries of similar subjects on shield-cushions (*gaddis*) in the Maharājā's armoury.

#### Plate XXII.

How accomplished Rājput draughtmen were in representing the form and the behaviour of wild animals is well illustrated by the folding Plate XXII, Rhinoceros charging a herd of Elephants. This work (probably late nineteenth century) though quite realistic, is very amusing; the unconcerned and surly rhino does not bestow a second glance upon the elephant he has knocked over, and disdains even the one that is preparing to meet his charge. The weight and 'squelch' of the fallen



elephant are excellently suggested ; so, too, the angry forward thrust of the one above him, and the peaceful and affectionate enjoyment of the undisturbed elephants beyond. The trampled and waving grass is treated decoratively, in a fashion which defines and emphasizes the movement of the bulky animals. *Elephants.*

Another drawing of elephants (Plate XXIII), partly washed in with cloudy grey, while in composition and as regards the elephants themselves it vividly recalls Ajantā, in the landscape and in the figure of the horseman exhibits Mughal influence. *Plate XXIII.*

Definitely Mughal is the fine shaded portrait of a tame elephant, from the Mola Rām series, given on Plate XXIV. *Plate XXIV.*



#### IV. MUGHAL DRAWINGS.

In the present work, I reproduce only four Mughal drawings, since such works are already well-known, and many are given in the former series of Indian Drawings. Little need be said regarding those here reproduced. The one portrait on Plate XX, 2 is a most delicate work, but loses much in reproduction; it contrasts with the Rājput portraits on the same Plate in more minute treatment, and in the considerable suggestion of modelling. The drawing of features and hair in the original seems almost a miracle of microscopic brushwork.

*Plate XXV.* The group of three (Plate XXV)—Akbar, Jahāngīr, and Shāh Jahān—of the Great Mughals is a tracing on skin. Groups of this sort are not uncommon as finished pictures. The suavity of the line and the posing of the figures exhibit marked Persian influence; the well-expressed character of the several emperors is typical of Mughal portraiture, and is rather a Chinese and Central Asian than a Persian (Sefevidean) element. The emperors' names are inscribed in Nāgarī and Persian characters.

*Plate XXVI.* The remaining group of five (Plate XXVI) represents Muhammad Shāh (A.D. 1719-1748) with some of his courtiers, and belongs to the later Mughal school; it is, however, very much superior to the majority of eighteenth century portraits. It is reproduced for this reason, and because of its historical interest. I do not know of a better portrait of Muhammad Shāh; it may be compared with the portrait of his predecessor Farrukhsīyar given in *INDIAN DRAWINGS*, first series, Plate X. The Nawāb Sa'adat Khān who stands second is, presumably, that Governor of Oudh who founded the family of Nawāb-Vazīrs, afterwards kings of Oudh.



Printed for the India Society, London, at the Old Bourne Press, 15 Holborn, London, and finished July, 1912.

Issued to members of the India Society, 1912, and sold by the author, and by Messrs. Probsthain, 41 Great Russell Street, London.

Four hundred and five copies, of which this is No. 43.



## ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA TO INDIAN DRAWINGS, FIRST SERIES.

- Page 8. The portrait spoken of can hardly represent Tamerlane, as the man is evidently a prisoner: it may be later than the fifteenth century.  
Delete footnote, which is not correct; the subjects are Hindu, but the style is hybrid and largely Persian.
- Page 9, l. 34. For Abdul read Abū'l.
- Page 11. Footnote, for *Jahāngīr*, read *Shāh Jahān*.  
Third footnote: after *Gujerāt*, read *Panjāb*.
- Page 16, l. 11. After *drawing*, add: (Rājput, almost certainly from Jaipur).
- Page 18. 'Drawings of Animals': most of these reproduced may be classed as Rājput.
- Pl. II and p. 11. This picture cannot, of course, refer to the expedition of 1647, as it represents Jahāngīr, who died in 1628. The occasion must be that of some earlier expedition to Balkh, when Shāh Jahān was still Prince Khurram. It may be dated about 1625.
- Plate V. 3.—British Museum MS. Or. 375; and 4.—MS. Add. 18801, f. 16, Jahāngīr (perhaps the best portrait of him).
- Plate VIII 3.—India Office, Johnson Album, LXIV, 35. Size of original  $5\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{7}{8}$  inches.
- Plate IX. (Left hand figure) India Office, Johnson Album, II.
- Plate XV. Add: Rājput School, Jaipur. Ouseley Add. 167, fol. 2.

## ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA TO THE PRESENT VOLUME.

- Page 8, l. 27. For *make* read *made*.
- Page 16, l. 1. For *gopās* read *gopas*.
- Page 25, l. 18. For *Pārvati* read *Pārvatī*.  
l. 25. For *Mahīshāsura* read *Mahishāsura*.
- Page 27, l. 23. For *examples* read *example*.
- Page 28, l. 4. For *eh* read *etc*.
- Page 32, l. 1. Before IV, read CHAPTER.
- Plate XVI, legend, for *Mahīsasura* read *Mahishāsura*.











PLATE 1

MUSICIANS

Part of original pricked cartoon

[Nearly  $\frac{1}{2}$  original size]

Rajput (Jaipur)

*Eighteenth century*

Author's collection

Page 21















PLATE II (FOLDING)

RĀDHĀ and KRISHNA with CHORUS

[Centre panels from original pricked cartoons,  
chorus right and left from drawings made by the  
author from original pricked cartoons or tracings]

[Very much reduced].

Rajput (Jaipur)

*Eighteenth century*

Author's collection

















PLATE III

RĀDHĀ and KRISHNA

[From a charcoal drawing, size of original 22½ × 16½  
inches]

Rājput (Jaipur)

*Eighteenth—nineteenth century*

Author's collection

Page 22











PLATE IV

LADY WRINGING WATER FROM HER HAIR

[Size of original  $14 \times 18\frac{1}{2}$  inches]

*Seventeenth—eighteenth century*

Rajput (Jaipur)

Author's collection

Page 22











PLATE V

PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG PRINCE

[From the original coloured cartoon, much reduced]

Rājput (Jaipur)

*Eighteenth—nineteenth century*

Author's collection

Page 22











PLATE VI  
DĀMAYANTI'S WEDDING PROCESSION

[Reduced]

Rajput (Babari)

*Nineteenth century*

Author's collection

F.G.A. 23.10

Pages 23, 24





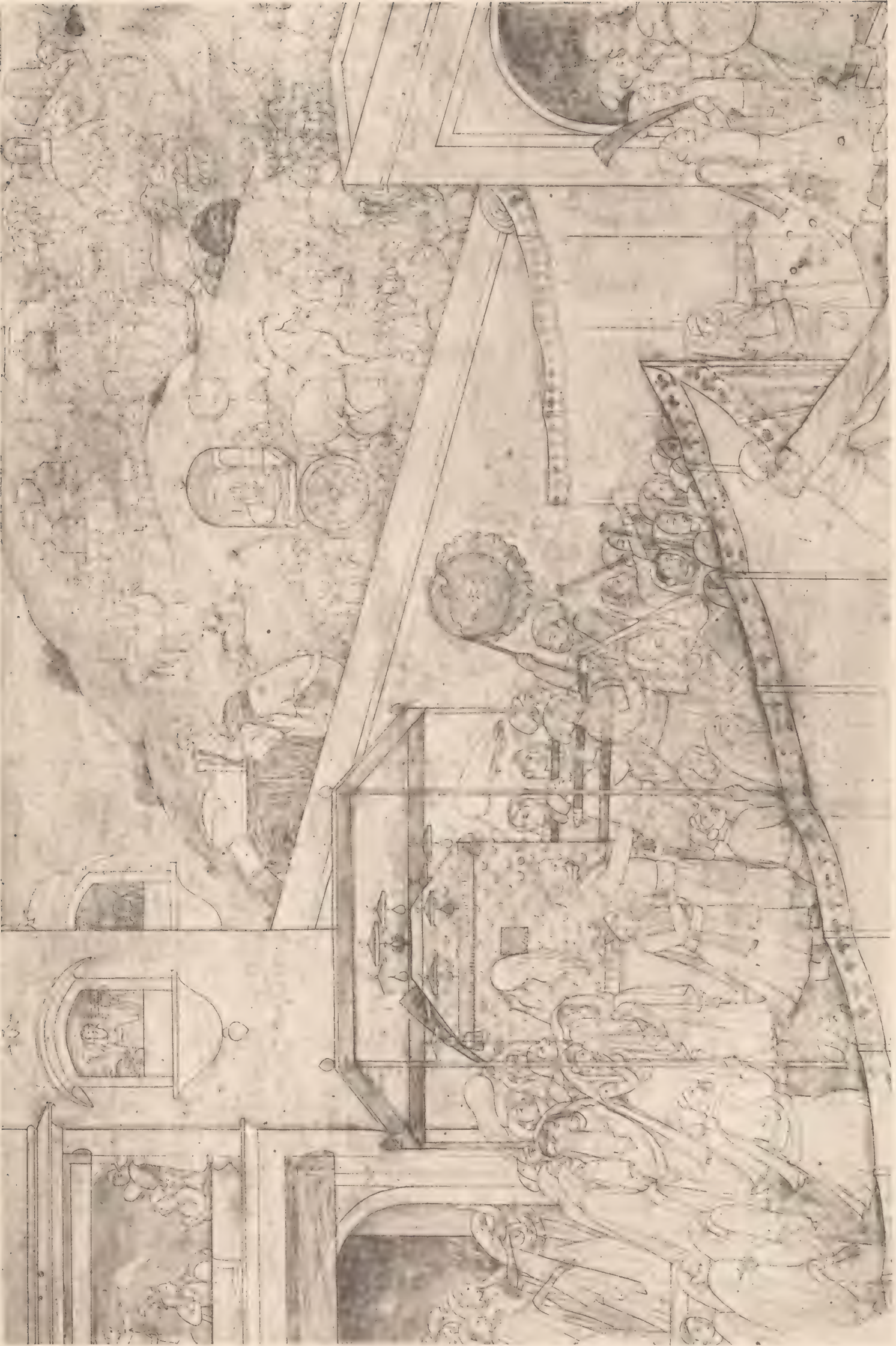






PLATE VII

Detail from the NALA-DAMAYANTI series

A Procession

[Size of original]

Rajput (Pahari)

*Nineteenth century*

Author's collection

Pages 23, 24











PLATE VIII

Detail from the NALA-DAMAYANTI series

[Size of original]

DAMAYANTI'S TOILET

Rajput (Pahari)

*Nineteenth century*

Author's collection

Page 23











PLATE IX

Details from NALA-DAMAYANTI series

[Size of original]

- (1) Nala, Damayanti and a messenger
- (2) Damayanti surrounded by her maidens, and  
Sarasvati announcing the result of the  
*vayamvara*

Rajput (Pahari)

Nineteenth century

Author's collection











PLATE X

(1) Group of servants

(2) Group of yogis

Details from the NALA-DAMAYANTI series

[Slightly reduced]

Rajput (Pahari)

*Nineteenth century*

Author's collection

Pages 23, 24

(3) Musicians

(4) Watching the moon rise











PLATE XI

CHORUS OF MUSICIANS:

[Detail enlarged about twice from an unfinished  
and imperfect picture of Radha-Krishna dancing  
or floating over a lawn.]

Rajput (Pahari)

*Eighteenth century*

Author's collection

Page 23











PLATE XII

RĀDHĀ'S TOILET

Dressing Rādhā for the Holi festival

[Size of original 10 $\frac{3}{4}$  × 7 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches]

Rajput (Pahar)

*Eighteenth century*

Author's collection











PLATE XIII

KRISHNA

with Boys and Girls teasing an Old Man

[Size of original]

Rajput (Pahārī)

*Eighteenth century*

Author's collection

Page 11











PLATE XIV

KRISHNA and GOPIS at JAMNA GHĀT

[Size of original]

Rajput (Pahārī)

*Eighteenth century*

Author's collection

Page 11











PLATE XV

COLLOQUY OF RISHIS

[Detail from an unfinished picture, size of original]

Rājput (Pahārī)

*Eighteenth century*

Author's collection

Pages 11, 25











PLATE XVI

(Details from larger drawings, size of originals)

(1). DURGĀ

Tamasic aspect, fighting the demon  
Mahīsāsura

(2). DANCING APSARA

In the palace of Vishnu, in his heaven,  
chorus of musicians on left hand.

Rājput (Pahārī)

*Eighteenth—nineteenth century*

Author's collection











PLATE XVII

DURGĀ slaying MAHISHĀSURA

[Devī is present in two aspects, *rajasic* and  
*tamasic*]

[Size of original  $9\frac{7}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{8}$  inches]

Rājput (Pahārī)

*Eighteenth century*

Author's collection









PLATE XVIII

PORTRAITS OF WOMEN

[(1) Size of Original (2) Reduced]

Rajput (Jaipur)

*Eighteenth--nineteenth century*

Author's collection

Page 27









PLATE XIX

PORTRAITS

(1) Raja and Courtiers [reduced]

(2) Musicians

Rajput (Jaipur)

*Eighteenth—nineteenth century*

Author's collection

Pages 34, 27











(1) Rājput (Jaipur)

(2) Mughal (Mola Ram series)

PLATE XX

PORTRAITS

*Seventeenth--nineteenth centuries*

Author's collection

Page 2-

(3) Rājput (Jaipur)

(4) Rājput (Pahari)









PLATE XXI

CARICATURES of PREM DĀS,  
GHARĪB DĀS (17th century),  
TULSĪ DĀS (fl. 1600 A.D.),  
KESŪR SINGH, RĀJ SINGH,  
RĀM SINGH

[Reduced]

Rājasthānī, with northern influence

*Seventeenth—eighteenth century*

Lahore Museum

Page 28







Yashwantrao Chavan

1944

Tula Das

Chaitanya Das

1944





PLATE XXII (FOLDING)

RHINOCEROS charging ELEPHANTS

[Size of original  $18\frac{1}{2} \times 8$  inches]

Rajput (Jaipur)

*Nineteenth century*

Author's collection

Page 30







Blank Page Digitally Inserted









PLATE XXIII

ELEPHANT HUNT

[Size of original]

Rajput (Jaipur), with Persian influence

*Eighteenth century*

Author's collection

Page 31











PLATE XXIV

ELEPHANT

probably Mughal (from the Mola Ram series)

[Size of original 10½ x 9 inches]

*Eighteenth century*

Author's collection

Page 31









PLATE XXV

AKBAR, JAHĀNGĪR and SHĀH JAHĀN

[Tracing on skin, size of original]

Mughal

*Seventeenth century*

Author's collection

Page 32





اکبر

شاکر

جائیکر

جہانگیر

شہین

شاہجہاں





PLATE XXVI

MUHAMMAD SHĀH (1719-1748 A.D.)  
and COURTIER

Names, reading from right to left : Muhammad  
Shāh Bādshāh Ghāznī; Nawāb Sa'adat Khān,  
Burhān-ul-Mulk; Hāfiz Khidmatgār Khān,  
Nawāb Nāzir; Nawāb Raushanū-d-Daulah,  
Bahādur; Nawāb Hāfizu-d-Dīn, Khān Bahādur.

[Drawing on skin, size of original  $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$  inches]

*Second quarter of eighteenth century*

Late Mughal (Oudh)

Author's collection





محمد شاه با شاه عاز

نورسلطان خان

خاندان محمد شاه

نورسلطان خان

نورسلطان خان

نورسلطان خان



















SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION LIBRARIES



3 9088 01668 9028